101 Western Ukraine, which were later organised in the united s' .te
175 of Galicia and Volynia, are more pronouncedly national than the Eastern tribes round Kyiv. The Ukrainian tribes were united by the end of the 10th century and the beginning of the 11th, this process being promoted by a common religion and a common culture composed of Byzantine and Slav influences; at the same time the feelings of unity among Ukrainian peoples was furthered by political pressure from the Poles and the princes of Suzdal and Vladimir at the head of a growing Russian people (since the 12th century). Other factors that helped this union were the transfer of the political center of Ukraine to the west and the political and cultural tendencies of the Lithuanian-Ukrainian state..

It is only in the north and on the western frontiers of Ukraine that many traditional features and a great variety of signs betraying differences between tribes have been preserved. Here, and in parts of the Carpathian area there are rich sources of ancient Ukrainian folklore.

101 These Ukrainians of the mountains and the foothills fall into
● 181 the three almost equal groups of Lemky, Bojky, and Hutsuly. The Lemky, also called the Lemaky, south of the Carpathians, inhabit the upper course of almost all the Carpathian tributaries of the Vistula and the Visloka as far as the Syan and, along with the foothill group of the Samishantsi (in the Jaslo area), are often called Ruthenians. They cling to their traditions and are economically in a sound position. They were the natural mediators between the Ukrainians and the Western and Southern Slavs, for instance, in the art of folkpoetry. Syanik and Krynytsja are the chief centers in this area.

The Boyky or Verkhovyntsi (dwellers in mountain pastures) live east of the Syan, in the districts of Sambir, Turka, Drohobych, Dolyna, and Kalush and also south of the Carpathian range. The inhabitants of the southern areas of the Bojky in the Carpathian Ukraine were also called Dolyniany (valley dwellers) and are rightly deemed to be the pioneers of the ancient Ukrainian colonisation in the South Carpathians, being in many respects different from their brethren in the north. The Tukholtsi, round Skole and Smorze, are another group that are

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

racially distinct from the rest of the Bojky. In contrast to the latter, who devote themselves above all to cattle-rearing, they are particularly gifted for trade and were known throughout Galicia as smart traders in fruit and wine. 101 181

The Hutsuly, known also abroad as gifted craftsmen (weaving, wood and metal work, ceramics and embroidery) live in the Eastern Carpathians (on the upper reaches of the Prut and its tributaries) in Bucovina round the little town of Vyshnycya, and in the neighborhood of Marmaroshsiget and Hust. In the north-east they join the kindred tribe, the Pokutyany (in the districts of Tovmatsh, Horodenka, Obertyn, Snjatyn and Kuty) who are distinguished by rich folk-poetry and a highly developed sense for art.

North of these mountain tribes we meet the Western Ukrainians proper, who call themselves Ruthenians. They fall into several groups, mostly distinguished by costume and other externals e. g. the Pidhiriany (dwellers in foothills) in the Carpathian foothills as far as the Dnister, the Dolyniany in the Syan valley, in the districts of Peremyshl and Jaroslav and the Batjuki in the districts of Zhovkva, Rava Ruska and Javoriv.

In the East follow the Opolany (as far as the Strypa and the Seret) in the districts of Lviv, Bibrka, Rohatyn, Peremyshlany, Berezhany and Pidhajci; then still further east, the Podoliany and to the north the Volyniany who join the racially more uniform area of Eastern Ukraine.

Ukrainians of the north and north-west have also preserved traces of the customs of the original tribes — for instance the Zabuzhany on the Buh, the Podlashany round Siedlce. The Polesyany ("Polishuky") between Prypyat and Dnipro, show traces of ancient culture; their language is still mediaeval and there are pre-Christian elements in their religious services while their costume reminds us of pictures from the old Kyiv state. They are divided into Polesyany proper, Pyntshuky, Volyniany and Chernyhiv-Polesyany; groups in the north from the still unstudied transition to the White Ruthenians.

Though at first sight there appear to be many differences in the Ukrainian people, they are in reality of small account;

101 they are certainly no reason for a further national division.
181 The common cultural heritage is so great that it covers all pecularities.

The differences usually cited as important between formerly Austrian and formerly Russian Ukrainians are limited to historical influences. The ethnographical limits of Ukraine have never coincided with politi... frontiers; as far as culture goes, "Austrian West Ukraine" stretched almost to Kyiv, while, on the other hand, definitely East Ukrainian phenomena in the language that were characteristic for "Russian East Ukraine" actually begin to appear in "Austrian" Podolia and Pokutja.

144 The anthropological structure of Ukraine is much more
142 complicated. The Ukrainian people is composed of at last six racial types (Dinaric, Mediterranean, Alpine, Nordic, Subnordic and Lapponid). The original inhabitants were mostly fair and long-skulled, (Nordic racial type) then these were flooded by the Armenoid, round-headed dark race from the south-east which naturally left marks. This process produced new racial types, which also came into contact with aboriginal Asiatics in the north-east and with the numerous and prolific Mediterranean races originally from Greece and Jtaly, and produced in turn more new racial mixtures. Of all these racial mixtures with a nordic foundation, the most important is the Dinaric which appears immediately before the Bronze Age; since the Middle Ages the decisive element in the Ukrainian type has been Dinaric, to which class almost one half (44 %) of the present-day Ukrainians belong. Dinaric is a round headed dark type with a long and narrow face. Another important racial element in the national Ukrainian type is the Alpine (22 %) also a round headed dark type, but with a round face. Those two races determine the national Ukrainian type (66 %), other elements being more rare and only characteristic of frontier areas.

141 The Ukrainians belong to the Caucasian race and have an average cephalic index of 83.2 (varying from 82.8 to 89.8); the face is narrow, the nose straight and fairly narrow, the arms relatively short, the legs long, the figure being over average height (about 5 ft. 7), while the hair and the eyes are mostly dark

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

The Basic Traits of the Ukrainian People

The cultural influences at work for thousands of years since the Secondary Stone Age in Ukrainian territory have naturally left traces: though the contribution of each varied, they combined to shape the spirit of the Ukrainian as we see it in all his actions and thoughts, in his whole conduct of life, or, to put it in general terms, in his view of the world. And when we pause to seek the basis of the specifically Ukrainian view of the world, our consciousness is suddenly flooded with the certainty that the spiritual life of the entire nation has its deepest source in an intimate relation to the soil, to Mother Earth. 181

The Ukrainians are a people of peasants. There is no question of that. Even a hasty review of the history of Ukraine provides incontrovertible proof that it is not only an agricultural country to-day, but that it has always been an agricultural country for hundreds, nay thousands, of years.

This has meant that the population of these areas has always been in closest touch with the soil and that this intimacy with Mother Earth is particularly characteristic of the entire Ukrainian peasantry even in our own days. And this orientation of the inner man holds not only for one class, but for the entire nation, for the intelligentsia of to-day, the intellectual leaders of the people, has, in the main, sprung from the peasantry and the purely urban population, middleclass as well as laborers, is composed either of foreigners or of immigrants from the open country. The entire Ukrainian nation is to-day deeply rooted in its native soil, a circumstance which it regards as its most effective weapon, with the help of which it has managed not only to cling to the land given it by fate, in spite of numerous onslaughts by nomads both ancient and modern, but also to cherish no mean policy of expansion even in modern times. We find sufficient examples in the settlement of Siberia and other territory in the Far East, the emigration of agricultural workers to Canada and the United States. It is self-evident that such an intimate connection with the soil for almost a thousand years must have its counterpart in the spirit of the Ukrainian people. An extraordinarily strong and organic dependence of man on the soil that he cultivates and that nourishes him is

● 181 everywhere clearly reflected in language and literature, in habits and customs, in manifestations of religious life, in the cultural process, in music, art, and philosophy.

538 Taras Shevchenko, the intellectual leader of the Ukrainian
181 people and the national poet, was indissolubly bound to the black soil of his home, glebae adscriptus, the son of a serf, for whom a ransom of 2500 roubles had first to be paid by friends before he was physically free from the chains that bound him to the earth. To free him spiritually from Mother Earth was an impossibility, for the poet's soul was so firmly rooted in his native soil, that to have severed it from its roots would have meant spiritual death.

And it is not merely striving for external effect, but a genuine symbol of the spiritual make-up of the Ukrainian people that its national poet, though no more a serf but a fêted artist and poet, welcome in the best society of the Russian capital, is mostly portrayed in peasant costume and is handed down to posterity in this guise. Shevchenko, as a poet, was the people itself, so that external events in his life acquire symbolic significance for the entire nation. Ivan Franko, the most eminent poet of Western Ukraine, also a man of the people, bears witness to the peasantry as the foundation of a new period in the development of man:

"I am a peasant — prologue, not epilogue"

Another prominent champion of intellectual life in Ukraine is Skovoroda, a philosopher who lived in the 18th century. He is the Ukrainian Socrates and is a product of his native country, intimately connected with his surroundings and his time. We should be puzzled by his work if it were viewed apart from his relation to the broad mass of the peasantry; the whole significance of his teaching and influence can only be grasped if we remember that he was in direct contact with those elements in Ukrainian intellectual life which were deeply rooted in and inspired by the Black Earth.

V. Lypynskyj, the Ukrainian historian and sociologist of today, sums up and evaluates this intimacy with the soil in his "Letters to my Brother-Farmers", which appeared in 1921/22. He was the first to emphasise this essential feature of national

ideology and to make a militant peasantry the foundation and the pillar of the modern Ukrainian state. 538 181

We find an astonishingly simple, but profound synthesis of this entire peasant philosophy, the product of the soil, in "The Soil", a short, moving story by Vasyl Stefanyk, a contemporary poet; "Our destiny is the soil; forsake it and you are lost, cling to it and it will develop all your powers and draw out your very soul in the hollow of its hand; embrace it, subject yourself to it and it will suck the life-blood out of your veins — but in return, you have herds of sheep and horses and full stack-yards; and for your strength it will give you a cabin full of children and grand-children whose laughter is like silver bells and whose cheeks are red as the fruit of the snow ball tree . . ."

The profound love of the Ukrainian for the beauties of Nature springs from his connection with the soil, a love which seems to be firmly anchored in the depths of his soul. This aesthetic sense which is nurtured by natural forms, is reflected by the deep longing to express beauty of form, harmony of color and originality of theme in domestic surroundings, in dress or in the utensils of everyday life. Aesthetic, and not practical considerations always play the most important part, whether it be the construction of a church, the planning of a garden round a cottage, the weaving of an apron or a kerchief, the making of a table or a bench. 181 517

It is obvious that the very rich and valuable folk music and the no less rich and original folk poetry are also based on laws of aesthetic pleasure, derived from intimate intercourse with Nature and experience of her beauties.

And the Ukrainian's traditional and age-long contact with Nature is the tenacious bond between him and his culture and that of Western Europe, while at the same time it distinguishes him from the Muscovite, his neighbor in the North-East. For the latter people had never had any feeling for the soil; it regards agriculture not as an expression of love for Mother Earth, but as a necessity, or as a chance of making money. On the other hand, the Muscovites are the best traders among Slavonic peoples. The real farmer, too firmly rooted in the 181

● 181 earth and in his functions, who remains in the same place for generations, becomes too fixed in his habits and loses the mobility which is naturally the first essential quality of nomad peoples and which brings great advantages in trade.

The Ukrainian view of the world is based very definitely on idealism. The actions and resolutions of the Ukrainian are based not on objective reality as it confronts us, but on an ideal „reality" which contains many elements derived from imagination and fancy. Ukrainian history offers us many examples of this. I quote only two prominent instances:

181 538 Kostomariv, the Ukrainian historian, inspired by Messianic ideas, writes a gospel of the Ukrainian people, proclaiming its destiny as a leader in the history of mankind. The aim of this work was to bring new strength to the oppressed nation and to give new content to its life which was founded on a very sad reality; it soared so high in the clouds of idealising speculation, so oblivious of actual facts, that it was scarcely possible to establish a connection between it and real life. While it may be maintained that a people cannot be solely guided by conditions of life here and now, that it cannot do without ideals, that, on the contrary, development and progress are impossible without any inciting aim, even if it is beyond human grasp - nevertheless its efforts to rise must spring from its actual surroundings and not from the fantastic realm of the imagination. — Franko, in spite of the sad experience of his own life of suffering, is also an idealist who believes in man, in his innate goodness, his love of beauty and moral conduct. All the characters in his books, even the worst of them, often display good traits, or at least traces of a positive attitude to life which suffice to keep the chances of improvement open. It is more than obvious that these characters are not bad by nature, but that they have degenerated under the influence of different circumstances. Some critics assert that it was only this belief in an idealised humanity, in the possibility of progress, that gave Franko the moral courage to carry on in spite of bitter disappointment, and to work like one possessed for the welfare of his people and its culture.

The Ukrainian's tendency to idealise is also expressed in his relation to the weaker sex which generally enjoys a position of superiority in Ukrainian society. In literature, too, the Ukrainian woman appears in such an idealised and spiritualised form that even her faults, her foibles, do not detract from her spiritual value, but serve rather to enhance her charm and attractiveness. 181 562

The sense for actual reality is almost completely suffocated by the enthusiasm of the soul for the world of the imagination, for the ideal. 19th century drama contains a goodly company of women with a positive attitude to life — national heroines like Marusja Bohuslavka, lovable girls, good and faithful to boredom like Natalie of Poltava, unhappy victims of male seduction like Shevchenko's Kateryna and finally, prophetesses with an air of tragedy like the Ukrainian Cassandra. We must not forget that, except for the last named, these old-fashioned plays are still popular with the Ukrainian public and are performed even to-day, times without number, with great success throughout Ukraine, in the towns as well as in the remotest villages. 181 562 536

Western systems of thought have always been founded on the personal consciousness of the individual. Beginning with Plato in ancient Greece philosophical speculation has always started from individual consciousness as the only evident reality which is disputed by no one, a process which is still more evident in modern philosophy from Descartes on. Fichte's system is based on the philosophy of the ego which elsewhere appears in philosophy as a complete entity, independent of all other features, a sovereign being, which, in the intellectual world, is usually the final foundation of a concrete reality. 812

Here Ukrainians, in contrast to Russians, are decidedly western in outlook. Though they have not produced philosophic systems of th .r own based on the ego as the fundamental principle, or . the foundation of further speculation, nevertheless their whole intellectual life, their ethical standards and legal code, and still more their actual conduct, are all based on the individual; and to restrict the right of the individual even in the interests of the community, is always resented as an encroachment on the freedom of will. 812 156

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine RDl

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The Ukrainian's individualism is most evident in his attitude to the social order, to the principle of the place of the community in society. He repudiates all forms of communal life which call for strict discipline and absolute obedience, without thinking that such a repudiation may be disastrous for the security of general interests and even, in the long run, for the personal advantage of the individual. His individualism as a social principle regards the individual as an end in himself, while the community is merely the sum or union of individuals and as such is only the means of guaranteeing the welfare of the individual. According to this national viewpoint, society — in Ukrainian "hromada" — is a voluntary union of individuals who, for the moment, are willing to work together for common aims, but who reserve the right to leave the union or even to attack it with every means in their power if they find that it is threatening their personal freedom, or when personal interest is greater than the interest of the community. We find a historical example of this attitude in the well-known military organisation of the Zaporoghian Cossacks, who regarded themselves as independent and free citizens, and only acknowledged their duty towards the community in so far as they considered it essential to the security and welfare of all.

In the history of Ukraine there are only too many cases where an exaggerated individualism prevented the formation of tradition as a supreme factor in building up a state, and where the historical existence of the entire people was at the mercy of conflicting forces which, in the absence of all desire to cooperate, were of necessity detrimental to the future of the state.

The structure of Russian society, called "mir" is diametrically opposed to this; it falls into the other extreme as the intellectual expression of the will of the community which completely absorbs personal independence. The essence and leading principle of the Russian "mir" is the compulsion inherent in the superior agency as the instrument of God's will. All rebellion against this divine compulsion is a grievous sin which the simple Russian cannot be expected to commit. This view was and is the most favorable condition for the birth and development of every absolute regime.

812 terest and, at the same time, superficial work. The Ukrainian
153 does not treat problems in theory and practice from the point of view of reason, but confronts reality with emotion, takes decision on the spur of the moment and confuses theoretical and practical issues.

157 In connection herewith I shall just touch on the third sphere
791 of psychological life, namely the will. Seeing that all three
● 181 functions, reason, feeling and will are closely dependent on each
812 other, the supremacy of the first or the second will necessarily influence the third. A will that is under the control of feeling and not of reason, will not be very strong, steadfast or consistent, but, like the feelings, will fall from one extreme into the other in a brief interval, so that periods of great, superhuman activity and joy in work are followed by times of complete passivity and the idleness of despair. The supremacy of feeling and the predominance of love provide us with a further element in the Ukrainian view of the world, namely the deep feeling for religion which is the main component in all Slav spiritual life. Many scholars of the last century emphasise the supremacy of feeling and the all-important part played by religion as the main characteristics of the spiritual life not only of modern Slavs, but also of their ancestors, whether remote or recent. Attempts have been made to differentiate the historical peculiarity of the Slavs from that of the Romance peoples, in particular from the French and the Germanic nations. Compared with the political French and the philosophical Teutons, the Slavs are, in the widest sense, the religious race.

Quite apart from our opinion of this characteristic, it must not be forgotten that all leading Slavs, whether Poles, Czechs, Ukrainians or Russians, whether philosophers, authors or artists, display an undoubted, if varied religiousness. Even revolutionaries like Bakunin, Herzen and others, though they rejected all belief at the start, were none the less deeply religious men and their fantastic fight against religion was but a negative expression of religious feeling. Atheism in Russia is the expression of an unsatisfied passion for belief, of a passion that refuses to let

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukràine RDl

itself be put off with inadequate creeds, and that, in despair, denies God Himself.

In spite of this general, common background, expressions of religious feeling in the various Slavonic tribes differ greatly. The Ukrainian is never orthodox in his religious life; he does not cling at all to forms, to externals; rather does he endeavour always to comprehend the essence of a creed or belief. All who have studied the character of the Ukrainian people even superficially must admit that a religious quarrel or still more, a bitter strife over ritual forms such as has become a plague with Russians is quite impossible among Ukrainians. Ukrainian history provides us with interesting and instructive examples of this. When the Kyiv State became Christian and accepted the Byzantine form of the Christian Church, being thereby automatically drawn into the whirlpool of religious strife, the Grand Prince deliberately sought to avoid all dogmatic quarrels and to keep contact with the West, even though he was a member of the Eastern Church and shared in Eastern culture. Unconcerned with the subtleties of dogma, which did not interest Kyiv princes though their church depended on Constantinople, they nevertheless sent ambassadors to the German emperors and to Popes, received delegates from the West and showered gifts on them; they formed family unions with Catholic princes and rulers — in a word, began to smooth the way of mediation between Western and Eastern Europe, a rôle which Ukraine was later to assume. It is true that fierce wars of religion were waged in Ukraine as elsewhere in the 16th and 17th centuries. But here the strife between adherents of the Orthodox Church and Unionists represented in reality the gigantic struggle between two views of the world — the Eastern conservative view and the Western, more progressive one, a struggle which, in addition to religion, comprehended many other factors, such as national feeling and political and cultural standards. At present, too, when Ukrainians must live together under most trying circumstances, church differences scarcely come into play. As a result of his over-individual nature, the Ukrainian is all too ready to utilise every opportunity of arguing with his opponent, but religious feeling is too deeply rooted and com-

pels too much respect for the opinion of others for him to make diverging beliefs an object of strife. Skovoroda, the Ukrainian Socrates, whose spiritual life reflects all the characteristics of the national psyche of the Ukrainian people, expresses his attitude to religious things in a very simple formula, which is perhaps too simple for a philosopher: "Pagan temples and idols were also expressions of Christian belief, being inscribed as they were with the wise, sacred words: gnoti seauton, nosce te ipsum".

According to Skovoroda, God did not reveal His truth to Christians and Hebrews alone, but also to pagans, just as morality cannot be regarded as the monopoly of the Christian world, seeing that it has many eminent champions among the nations of the ancient world. In the province of religion the Ukrainian demands universality, respect for every genuine religious feeling, tolerance of the convictions of others, but not orthodoxy and not the forfeiture of valuable content for the sake of mere form.

The Ukrainian view of the world is characterised by an optimism founded on metaphysics and ethics. In spite of the overwhelming catastrophes that have constantly shaken the historical existence of the people to its foundations, in spite of the terrible persecutions to which the heart of the nation, its peasantry, has been exposed for centuries, hope of a better future was never dead, and indeed it rose afresh at the very time when, judged by objective standards, there were practically no prospects of improvement. And yet — in defiance of all foes — the Ukrainian people will and must live and fulfil its destined mission, the motto to which all leading spirits have always sworn allegiance. Of course, Ukrainian public opinion, especially in the higher classes, has also displayed depression caused by temporary circumstances; but though the situation was often extremely critical, Ukrainian history has no proper example of general dissolution, of complete and extensive despair. On the contrary, it is characteristic of Ukrainian mentality to regard the world and its phenomena from the best side and to trust in a favorable issue of all processes. "We'll get along somehow" is the expression, not only of mental balance, of a determination to keep a stiff upper lip, but is at the same time an unmistakable sign

of a feeling of confidence, no matter how circumstances may change. 181 812

If we seek the origin of this apparently irrational optimism, we come to the conclusion that its roots lie in prehistoric times and that its motives have been preserved in folklore, tales and fables. The study of extensive Ukrainian material proves conclusively that the belief in the victory of good over evil is part and parcel of the people's faith. The world is ruled by the principle of good; evil, and its personification, the devil, are by no means equal to good and do not have an independent existence of their own. 776 812

Without going into details, we can make the general assertion that in Ukraine the devil is no powerful god who finds satisfaction in the sea of troubles that overwhelms man; his power does not equal that of the good spirit; in the realm of evil he is not supreme over subordinate demons — he is a petty spirit who, by exploiting the weaknesses of God and man, seeks to make unpleasantness for both.

The devil cannot have the mastery over a human being during the latter's life, even if he has promised him his soul. It is fairly easy to summon the devil in order to enter into a contract with him. In drawing up the articles of such a contract, the devil does not display any special intelligence, or even intellectual superiority over his human partner. The Evil One not infrequently gets the worst of a bargain with a simple peasant; he puts himself to no end of trouble in order to get money and honor for man before death, but after he is dead, man always finds a loop-hole in the contract through which he can slip and land happily in Paradise. 776

Thus we see that, for the Ukrainian, far from being an imposing figure, the devil degenerates into something comical and, at times, even pitiable, a being to be exploited or made a fool of by man. In the eternal struggle which it is man's fate to conduct against evil, man is far superior to the devil.

Maksimov assures us that the belief in an unlimited number of evil spirits is firmly rooted in the consciousness of the Great Russian. He believes that there are scarcely any places in the

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDl Ukraine

III

Cultural life

The General Trends of Ukrainian Culture

When studying the intellectual characteristics of the Ukrainians we come to the conclusion that their often too marked individualism and their ideals, which display themselves in the necessities of everyday life, stamp them as unmistakably western in their attitude to the world, while their geographical position drew them from the very beginning within the orbit of Central and Western Europe and later on made them instrumental in handing on the products of Western culture to the nations of the East. 181

The first mention of the Kyiv empire in history shows it in connection with a western power. In the Annals of Bertinius we read how emperor Ludwig received a Grecian delegation at Ingelheim on May 18th, 839 and how, in the company of the ambassadors sent by Theophilus, the Greek emperor, there were also certain men, "qui se, id est gentem suam, Rhos vocari dicebant." We may assume with great probability that these men were first sent from their home, Kyiv, to Constantinople, and had then accompanied the Grecian delegates on their long journey from Byzantium to the Rhine and that the name "Rhos" is identical with the later Rus-Ukraine. 175

Grand Princess Olga, who had embraced the Christian faith of the West, sent a delegation in 960 to the German Emperor Otto I, requesting that priests should be sent to her country that was so little known. Missionaries under Adalbert set out

On the contrary, in Zone 2 the absence of trees, the drier climate, the dusty soil, and the isolated farms make the landscape more severe and more similar to the barren table-land of Northern Castile. Only the immensity of the cornfields with their golden ears introduces a lyrical note, vision-like, into this flat and treeless country. The villages of the Steppe are not very picturesque and look mostly like colonies in which the spirit of calculation dominates over the care of beauty. The habitations here are more modern, bigger, and better planned. The thatch here gives place to tiles and to corrugated iron. On the other hand, the poor people, deprived of wood, live in primitive hovels built of clay.

In the extreme north, in the forest region with its sandy soil, the picturesque landscapes gradually disappear to resume the severe and sad monotony of the White Russian country-side.

The Ukrainian is very adaptable to civilization, that is to say to the improvement of everyday life, and very quickly adopts all practical inventions, without any spirit of routine.

The Ukraine is the most literate part of Russia. Even Soviet statistics, which cannot be assumed to be well disposed to the Tsarist regime, show that the percentage of the generation which was of a school age in 1914, which could read and write was, in 1923, 90 per cent in the towns and 73 per cent in the country, which, by the way, is a vigorous reply to the generally accepted opinion that in the pre-war Russian Empire the population stagnated in a condition of utter ignorance.

In the other parts of European Russia the percentage for the same generation was respectively 82 per cent in the towns and 57 per cent in the country-side.

It seems to us opportune to give an idea of the Ukraine

[Sec x category 116, pp. 139-140. --- Analyst]

8: Fedenko H-4, 5 (no date) 1951 RD1 Ukraine RD1
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INTRODUCTION

The author of this book is a historian. He has taken part in the Ukrainian national revolution from 1917 on. The book has been written to fix facts that are very often forgotten in the world, or are given a false interpretation in the various books on the Eastern European problem.

The principal fact from which the whole fatal conflict between Ukraine and Soviet Russia arises is that Ukraine has a democratic tradition created by the preceding historical evolution. Modern Russia is a continuation of the Muscovite Tsardom that has grown on the foundations of eastern despotism. For this reason Russia has not created a democratic tradition of its own up to this day and has a "considerable lack of European tradition", as it has been stated by the well known Russian historian Klyuchevsky. Therefore Communist dictatorship so easily seized power in Russia after the revolution of 1917, while the other peoples of the former Tsarist Empire, Ukrainians, Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Georgians, etc., created democratic states of their own.

The tragedy of the unhappy neighbours of Russia is that Russian imperialism in the past and present times has been principally directed against them, has enslaved and even exstirpated them.

The Ukrainian nation occupies a particular place in Eastern Europe both by its number, circa 35 millions, and by its geographical position, and especially by its large natural resources*). The famous British political writer Professor R. W. Seton-Watson states that the Ukrainian problem has been one of the reasons for World War I 1914—1918. It is generally known that the conquest of Ukraine was the principal aim for Hitler's 'Pressure to the East'. Thus World War II had the struggle for Ukraine as one of its reasons too.

We are living in a time when imperialism is being condemned as one of the greatest evils to mankind, but we see at the same time

*) The most important natural riches of Ukraine are: coal (Donets Bassin), iron ore (Krivoy Rog), oil (Boryslaw), manganese (Nikopol). The export of grain from Ukraine to Western Europe until 1914 was higher than 5,5 mil. tons per year. The production of sugar and spirit was very important. The export of agricultural products from Tsarist Russia came in its great part from Ukraine.

●/8/ how various peoples are enslaved and perish through the ruthless despotism of Soviet Russia. Russian Communist dictatorship has ruled the Ukrainian nation for more than 30 years. But the Ukrainians do not want foreign rule and wish to live in freedom and independence. The Ukrainian nation has been the first to fight against the renewed Russian imperialism, strengthened by Communist dictatorship, from December 1917 on. This struggle is little known to the world, though it had in some of its stages universal importance.

175 was not only the unrestricted lord over the freedom and lives of his subjects; he was also the greatest merchant and contractor in his country (monopoly of foreign trade, monopoly of public houses a. s. o.). Even for the land that was cultivated by the Muscovite people a formula was stated: "The whole land belongs to God and the Tsar."

The Muscovite aristocrats had no power to use against the rule of the Tsars and signed in official papers with deminutive names 'Petrushka', instead of Peter, 'Ivashka', instead of Ivan, and called themselves 'Kholopy' (slaves) of their Tsar. The foreigners from the free Western European countries were impressed by the unlimited submission of the Muscovites to the Government of the Tsars, the lack of personal dignity among them, and their simultaneous enthusiasm for the absolute power of their Tsar, who had not to take an oath on the observation of the laws and the consideration of the liberties of his subjects as was the case in the free Western countries. The learned Scotsman Buchananus writes in his book *De iure regni apud Scotos*, in 1579, that Muscovy rejoices in tyranny ('Moscovia tyrannide gaudet').

●[181] The present Communist Government has received the tyrannical tradition from the Tsars of Moscow. Soviet propaganda consequently glorifies one of the most cruel tyrants of universal history — Ivan the Terrible — in its press, literature and radio*). No less is the glorification of Tsar Peter I., the founder of modern Russian imperialism, by the Russian Communists. Here the Bolsheviks have found their corresponding Russian national tradition.

After the destruction of the Kievan State and the down-fall of the Principality of Galicia and Lodomeria the development of Ukraine and White Russia (Byelorussia) under the rule of the Lithuanian princely dynasty went in the general European direction. The nobility and the city population had their rights guaranteed by the laws in Lithuania and Poland, and the Monarch had to consider the will of his subjects. The Ukrainian nobility and the townsmen enjoyed these rights alike. However, after the Union of Lublin of 1569 between Lithuania and Poland almost the whole of Ukrainian territory was incorporated by Poland, and a strong pressure of the Polish State on the Ukrainian people began. The Polish authorities restricted the rights of the Ukrainian Orthodox nobility and, on the other hand, gave those who abandoned the Greek Orthodox Church and turned Catholic all possibilities of career and enrichment. An

*) Comp.: R. Wipper, *Ivan Grozny*: Moscow 1948 (An official glorification of the 'progressive and democratic' Tsar Ivan the Terrible).

175 troops conquered the fortress of the Ukrainian Cossacks — the Zaporovian Sich. The remainder of the Zaporovian Cossacks migrated to the Turkish province at the mouth of the Danube, and founded there a new centre under the protectorate of the Sultan. The lands of the Zaporovian Army, that had been defended against the Tartar hordes in a fierce struggle lasting for hundreds of years, the Russian Government granted to its magnates, first of all to favourites of Catherine II.

175 648 The Western Ukrainian territories, which, by the Polish-Muscovite treaty of 1667, had remained in the Polish State after the dismemberment of Poland at the end of the 18th century, were incorporated partly by Russia and partly by Austria (Galicia 1772). Bukovina too, which had formerly belonged to Turkey, became a province of Austria in 1774. Carpatho-Ukraine had belonged to Hungary since the Middle Ages (cities Užhorod-Ungvar, Mukačevo-Munkacs).

181 175 [566] The struggle of the Ukrainians for independence under the leadership of Bohdan Khmelnitsky (1648—57) had abolished serfdom in the greater part of Ukraine. It was the ideal of the masses of the Ukrainian people to live free, independent like the free Ukrainian Cossacks. After the abolition of the autonomous rights of Ukraine at the end of the 18th century serfdom for the Ukrainian peasants was introduced in Ukraine in the Muscovite way. But against this oppression the masses of the Ukrainian people rose often in revolt.

Historical evolution has developed in the Ukrainian people an aspiration for freedom and defence of human dignity. Voltaire wrote in his *History of Charles XII.*: "L'Ukraine a toujours aspiré à être libre" (Ukraine has always aspired to be free). "This is a nation that wants freedom," wrote the prominent Ukrainian writer of the 17th century, the Archbishop of Chernigov, Lazar Baranovych, to the Muscovite Tsar Alexey Mikhaylovich.

The conviction prevailed among the Ukrainians that Ukraine was not dependent on Russia but was only associated in the person of the Monarch. In the political dialogue *Dispute of Little Russia with Great Russia* at the end of the 18th century we read the following words of 'Little Russia' addressing 'Great Russia': "Do not think thou art my lord, but thine and mine sovereign is our common master."

175 648 The Ukrainian patriots could not forget the loss of liberty and independence, and looked for understanding of the Ukrainian case to foreign countries. In 1793 the well known Ukrainian patriot Vasyl Kapnist tried to persuade the Prussian Minister Hertzberg

that it was in the interest of Prussia to help the Ukrainian people to cast off the chains of Muscovite slavery. During the Great French Revolution the person of Napoleon was very popular in Ukraine. Ukrainian patriots were pleased by the victories of the French Emperor, and hoped that, after the defeat of Russia in a war with France, the time for the liberation of Ukraine would come, and the odious serfdom would be abolished. But Napoleon had no understanding of the Ukrainian problem. He planned the creation of two states 'Napoléonides' in Ukraine under his protectorate ...*)

Ukrainian history has gone its own way, different from that of Russia. This has created the peculiar national character of the Ukrainians.

The foreigners who had visited Ukraine in the 17th and 18th centuries pointed out the higher level of civilisation among the Ukrainians in comparison with the Russians, and the highly developed feeling of personal dignity of the Ukrainian people. This love of freedom of the Ukrainian people appeared also in the fight against Tsarist absolutism in Russia, where revolutionaries of Ukrainian origin occupied the first places, Zhelyabov, Kybalchych, Konashevych, Osynsky, Kravchynsky (Stepnyak), Popko, and many other members of the party '*Narodnaya Voiya*'.

In the 19th century, under the influence of the ideas of that time (the Great French Revolution, romanticism) the regeneration of the so-called unhistorical pepoples (Serbians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Baltic peoples) began; in the beginning it was the interest for the language and history of the peoples among the educated classes, and the attempt to write in the 'common people's' language. In Ukraine the regeneration of the popular literary language began with the publication of the satirical poem of Ivan Kotlyarevsky *Aeneid:* 1798. In this poem the author underlines his dislike of serfdom and the lords

> "who did not give the people freedom
> and treated them like cattle."

Democratic ideas were widespread in Ukraine; the representatives of the Ukrainian educated classes took an active part in the revolutionary organisations directed towards the fall of the Tsarist régime (the uprising of the 'Decabrists', 1825—26, was most active in Ukraine, near Kiev).

In 1846 a Ukrainian political organisation, *The Society of St. Cyrill and Methodius,* was founded in Kiev. Many prominent representatives of Ukrainian culture like Taras Shevchenko (the

*) *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes:* Paris 1922.

727 661 The Germans did not touch the Soviet collective farms, because they regarded them as the best method for exploiting the peasants. On the other hand, the German authorities did not wish to permit the partition of the land, for they prepared Ukraine for German colonisation.

● [181] Frauenfeld points out the high physical and moral qualities of the Ukrainians, their highly developed consciousness of personal dignity and their aspiration for education. He witnesses that the closing of schools by the German authorities in Ukraine roused the greatest dissatisfaction among the Ukrainian people:

"The Ukrainians, especially the women, are very desirous of learning, and one could hear from them: 'Under the Bolsheviks we were starving, but we could learn something at least. Under your rule we cannot even learn. This proves that you are our enemies' . . .".

The author of the memorandum comes to the conclusion that the Ukrainians should not be exstirpated in the interests of Hitler's 'racial policy'; on the contrary "the often genuine blond and blue-eyed as well as brunette population" should be assimilated for such an assimilation "would be without doubt more desirable and advantageous than many we had absorbed during our history, or are even trying to suck up . . ."*).

725 668 Against pillage, terror, oppression and humiliation the Ukrainian people reacted with great vehemence, in spite of the extraordinary weakening by the previous Soviet terrorism, the famine and the war. In all parts of Ukraine risings broke out. This Ukrainian partisan movement helped to a great extent to defeat the German armies in Ukraine. But this was not a proof of affection of the Ukrainians for Soviet Russia. The Ukrainian partisan movement took place under the banner of an independent Ukraine. The initiative for the creation of the Ukrainian Partisan Army (UPA) came from officers of the army of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic in 1941.

The Ukrainian Partisan Army turned its weapons after the defeat of Germany against the new oppressor — Soviet Russia.

2. Ukraine after the War

727 000 In the course of World War II the entire territory inhabited by Ukrainians from the Caucasus to the Carpathian Mountains came under the rule of Soviet Russia. The Ukrainian nation, from the

*) Gauleiter A. E. Frauenfeld, *Denkschrift über die Probleme der Verwaltung der besetzten Ostgebiete: 10. 2. 1944* (Document No. 5394, Office of Chief of Counsel for War Crimes).

UKRAINE
Land of Black Earth

/7/

The Outpost

000 Reaching the first villages of a different people, the stranger stands helpless. The great unknown of this world fills him with awe, with the wish to fathom its essence, and with vague expectations. Velykyi Lypnyk is such a village on the edge of a large community ruled by other laws. It is the most westerly outpost, the spearhead, as it were, of the self-contained settlement area of a people whose often grandiose history bears
181 out the truth: Woe to the vanquished! This race of Ukrainians is the largest on earth without its own state. Often the Ukrainians were chosen by providence for great deeds; for a long time they protected the West from the wild Asiatic hordes, then history made them dead quiet. They were forgotten and almost abandoned to extinction. But the people refused to be "a branch of the large Russian tree; they wanted to be a tree themselves, with roots, trunk, branches and leaves, drawing its nourishment from its own soil". Again and again they rose up against ruling peoples, they fought, won and - lost. /8/

131 A two- to three-hour drive by automobile separates the self-contained German settlement in Silesia from the Ukrainian spearhead in eastern Slovakia at the foot of the High Tatra. In between lies the settlement of the Zips Germans. It is a mere weekend excursion from Breslau or Vienna to the border of the Ukrainian realm. For the inhabitant of Breslau it is no farther than Berlin and for the Viennese it is as far as Munich. It takes six hours by car from Vienna or Breslau up the Oder and the Waag along the quiet, dreamy woodland slopes of the Slovakian mountains to the High Tatra. Between it and the Lower Beskid the

[Podolia] [Volhynia]

everyone else from among our ranks. 000

Before the First World War it was said of 101
Podolia, which you will reach if you wander farther 810
north and which lies like a plateau over the Dniestr 311
Valley, that bread grows on fence posts there,
/Facing page 16: Kiev, the capital of Ukraine. [000]
View of the lower part of the city/; /Facing page
17: The old fortress of Feodosiya on the Crimea/ 3
/17/ and that the fences are woven out of sausages. For the first time there lies before you an immeasurable sea of surging grain. Not a house far and wide, rarely a small wood. A groundless, dusty field road, surprisingly seems to lead into empty space, but where you think it ends, it leads you straight as a die, by means of steep turns into one of those deep valleys which the rivers in the course of thousands of years have carved into the plateaus. Down there the Podolians build their loam huts, the whitewashed walls of which have already greeted you from a distance through the green of the plum and cherry trees. If you follow the river upstream, it will more and more often lead you around ponds, marshes and swamps the nearer you come to its sources. You will see more storks than you have ever seen before in your life.

Almost imperceptibly you will reach Volhynia, 101
the western part of which belonged to Poland up to 491
1939, but was subject to the czar before that. You 34
will notice this immediately by the lack of good roads. For, as everywhere in former Czarist Russia, there are only a few paved roads, but all the more are there roads on which in dry weather you sink into the dust and in wet weather into mud. You will 361
notice it also by the cities and towns which are even dirtier and more neglected than those of Galicia. You are in the midst of the ghettos of the world. These cities are a jumble of houses, "with an ugly traffic artery in the middle". They are spread out with a total absence of form, as though they had been

3 [For plates, cf. pp. 215-216, category 116 - Analyst]

101 174 of Khazars established a kingdom here, which extended from the Volga to the Danube. The Khazars were nomads who became domiciled, founded cities and carried on trade. At their court the Jews obtained predominating influence, and it sounds almost unbelievable to say that the khans adopted the faith of Moses. [000] /Facing page 24: Character study of a Ukrainian head/*/Facing page 25: A Ukrainian girl with pronounced nordic features/*/25/

[101] [174] ●181 Kiyev, the center of the Polyani, was tributary to the Khazar. The Slavic tribes of the Antae, the ancestors of the Ukrainians, were divided and fought one another. In the establishment of their society they scarcely developed beyond the formation of a district with several peasant communities. Fields and pastures belonged to all jointly. Family life was a patriarchy, and unanimity was demanded at the village and district meetings. These Slavs built compact houses of loam, and placed embankments around their towns. They cultivated their fields, made pottery and bartered their goods for swords, knives and various handicraft products. They offered sacrifice to the sun god Dashdboh, the wind god Stryboh, the thunder god Perun and other deities.

*

175 It was the Swedish Vikings, called Varangians, who in the ninth and tenth centuries unified the Slavic tribes and established a kingdom with Kiyev as the capital, which, during its most flourishing period, extended from the Carpathians to the Volga and from the Caucasus to the White Sea. They rowed in boats to Lake Ilmen, founded Novgorod and from there, about the middle of the ninth century, conquered Kiyev. Rurik was the name of the Viking king of Novgorod; his warriors were called Rus', meaning "rowers",

*[For plates, cf. pp. 217-218, category 11c - Analyst]

665 23rd International Youth Day in Moscow in 1937:
883 "Never in the history of the world have there been
876 and are there such conditions for growth, education and training of the younger generation as have been created for young people among us by the Soviet government, by the Communist Party..." There are countless proofs of the fact that the basic principles of Bolshevik education are refuted by the products of this education.* The Komsomolskaja Pravda, number 83, 1935 admits "that the criminal elements in schools developed more actively than the Komsomols and the Pioneers, and therefore drew a large number of students into their sphere of influence", and Pravda of [681] February 19, 1935 reports that the following punishments are administered to combat hoodlumism among children of from 8 to 12 years: "The expulsion of the hoodlums from school, legal persecution of their parents, the formation of special divisions of militia to combat youthful criminals, and so forth." (78) This picture is

78. Richthofen, Bolshevik Science and Culture Policy, page 75.

rounded off by the introduction on April 7, 1935 of the death penalty for children beginning at the age of 12 for those of them who can be shown to have committed theft, banditry, murder or to have contemplated murder, and by the purges which began in the autumn of 1937 against the members of the Komsomol, especially in the Ukraine.

/130/ In the Village

•181 During the years in which Shevchenko stands watch in the searing heat of the Kirghiz Steppes, his friend Kostomariv formulates for the first time the contrasts between Ukrainian and Russian ethnic groups. According to this, a tendency toward spirituality prevails in the social and

* [For a discussion of Bolshevik educational theory and methods, cf. pp 133-135, category NC - Analyst]

181 political life of the Ukrainians, in that of the Great Russians a tendency toward materialsim prevails. The Ukrainians incline toward federation, the Russians toward absolutism; the Ukrainians have a tendency to prefer personal freedom, the Russians despotism. As a result of these contrasts, he says, there is an eternal battle between the two peoples. (79)

79. Zalozieckij: The Spiritual Life of the Ukraine in the Past and Present.

144 The difference between Russians and Ukrainians are racially conditioned and historically substantianted. The hemotogenetic basis of the Russian people are the aboriginal Finno-Ural-Altaic peoples. These mixed with the advancing Slavs and later, at the time of the sovereignity of the Asiatic hordes, also with Tatars. In Ukrainian blood Slavic as well as Nordic components - Goths, Varangians - predominate. But Armenoids and Mediterranean races have gained influence, and a dash of Tatar blood cannot be lacking. The 142 Ukrainian is in general tall. He has broad shoulders, a round or semi-round skull, straight nose, high forehead, small mouth and small ears. His skin is slightly dark, his hair abundant, straight and predominantly dark. The Kubans in the East and the Huzuls in the West are the tallest, with an average height of 170 centimeters.

174 Historically the differences between the two /131/ peoples were revealed even at the time the Golden Horde subjugated them both. To this day the Russians boast of the fact that at that time they had carried on a more clever Tatar policy, that they had yielded and voluntarily paid the head tax - in contrast to the Ukrainians. While in that century Ukrainian high nobility played the leading cultural role at the court of the Lithuanian Gedemins, the Muscovite grand prince

174 Ivan Kalita destroyed the power of the nobility and therewith laid the foundation for Muscovite despotism. A further example of historically proved contrariety is furnished during the time of Ivan the Terrible. The most sinister force rules at that time in Moscow, while in the Ukraine the Cossacks are preparing to found the freest state that probably ever existed in East Europe.

*

101 Among the Ukrainians there are, in turn,
184 tribal differences. The inhabitants of the dark forest region of Podlakhia and Polesia, who are obliged to wrest all fruits from the earth, can scarcely be as gay as those of the sunny spaces of the south. Those are melancholy and oppressed people who up there carry on the struggle for existence. Farther south, from the fertile hills of Podolia way over to the foothills of the Caucasus, there are fields of golden grain, fruit grows of its own accord, the sky is blue for many months, and on the Kuban there is paradise itself. Cheerful, candid people live here.

• 181 The Ukrainians are a peasant people and more than 90% of all children first see the light of the world through the small window-panes of a straw- or shingle-covered cottage. They are peasant souls - that is, quiet, good-natured, placid human beings who cling to the sod, to their own farm, who want to plow, sow and reap. They are poor, but honest and at the same time hospitable and positively ceremonially polite. People like to call them "Southerners" because of their cheerful disposition and their humor. They love that contemplative life which /132/ is hard to combine with constant hard work. It has not been a blessing to the Ukrainian that the soil yields richly and effortlessly, that his daily bread need not be obtained amid constant toil and hardships. If that were the case, perhaps he

181 would possess the favorable characteristic of obstinate perseverance; stubborness cannot replace it.

By nature the Ukrainian is an Easterner, that is to say he prefers the irrational, and his emotion outweighs his will. "The Eastern nature is characterized by rapid unexpected transitions from unprovoked and therefore short-lived enthusiasm and activity to complete, likewise unjustified quietism and apathy, which in history often expresses itself in a sudden transition from an imposing advance to epochs of complete deterioration." (80)

80. Zalozieckyj: The Spiritual Life of the Ukraine in the Past and Present.

562 The Ukrainians are proud of their women. The Ukrainian woman is slender and tall, usually with black hair and black eyes. Folksongs sing of her thick eyebrows and her beautiful legs. The Ukrainian gynecologist Yuriy Lypa says of the Ukrainian woman that she never comes under the domination of a man; that like no other woman of Europe she is associated with things warlike. For, according to tradition, the Amazons lived between the Dnieper and the Don. Her relationship to man is strictly regulated, in spite of great passion and hot blood. It is based on pride and a consciousness of dignity. She must exert strong will power in order to keep herself within the bounds she sets for herself. She is cruel toward herself, but especially toward other women who overstep these bounds. Kulish, an outstanding Ukrainian historian, author and ethnographer, attributes to women the creation of those tender Ukrainian love songs which are so full of harmony and restraint. It is said that the actual realm of the Ukrainian woman is her family, where she occupies the dominating position as mother. The Ukrainian woman is more prac-

[Berlin]

517 Petliura Library. Finally, there is the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin.

/189/ Epilogue

181 After their liberation from the Soviet-Muscovite yoke the Ukrainian people have, for the first time in their recent history, had an opportunity to develop their talents and their natural resources freely and unimpeded for their own benefit. The tremendous amount of work that remains to be done can be estimated only by someone who is familiar with the incomparable misery which war-communism, more than two decades of Bolshevik rule and finally liberation from this rule have brought upon the Ukrainian country and its people. Reconstruction will necessarily be all the more difficult since the Ukrainians have to this day remained a peasant people, without their own artisans, without a merchant class, without officials and almost without a so-called intelligentsia. This fact has been very important for the biological survival of the Ukrainian people, for its seed thus withstood the most dire distress of centuries of suppression. Nevertheless: peasants are not statesmen! Peasants want to plow, sow, reap and tend their cattle. Thus it is not a matter of chance that, aside from its historical struggle against the Asiatic hordes, the most important achievement of the Ukrainian people is of a rural character: in the colonization of the steppes, of Siberian and far-eastern lands the Ukrainians have achieved great things. "In fact," says the well-known Ukrainian geographer Rudnickiy, "the entire life force of the nation was directed toward the one single problem of occupying new areas and cultivating them according to old customs." Nevertheless - "the political idea suffered thereby, as well as Ukrainian culture and the Ukrainian city." /190/

181 The innermost feelings of the Ukrainians in the days of their liberation is described by a German war correspondent a few weeks after the Bolsheviks were driven out of Kiyev, in the following words of a Ukrainian physician in Kiyev: "You Germans must be very patient with us! You must help us as though we were schoolchildren to whom one must teach the most elementary aspects of life step by step! You must give us strength once more to believe in humanity! For we are not ourselves. We are pitiful, down-trodden, homeless creatures, human beings deprived of all that was sacred, who night and day have lived in the fear of being deported, exiled or shot because of our very existence." (135)

135. "Kiew - der Blutegel der Ukraine," Kiyev, the leech of the Ukraine, by the war correspondent, Erwin Kirchhof.

000 What, therefore, is to become of this country where intelligent men voice such shattering words? Now that the Bolsheviks have been driven out, there will first of all have to be a thorough stock-taking of the Ukrainian people to determine the presence of living cells capable of growth and development, in order that we may then, with careful consideration, be able to build, stone by stone, a new and better future. Too much in the way of diversified wealth and talent in the Ukraine has been destroyed or stunted by Muscovite imperialists, beginning with Peter the Great down to Stalin, the strangler, to make possible the achievement of such a tremendous task of reconstruction within a few years.

/Map in pocket of book/

The Peoples of the Ukraine

183 162 The distribution in 1939 of peoples and ethnic

262 Expectant and nursing mothers are usually at work, and have standard
745 leaves with pay and special privileges; thus, if working, they receive
434 rations appropriate to the occupational group, plus special food allowances; and if not working, dependents' rations plus these allowances. The supplements are as follows, monthly: cereals, 1.2 kilograms; butter (or substitute), 0.8 kilograms; sugar 0.6 kilograms; vegetables, 2.0 kilograms; milk (fresh or dried) 12 litres. Their approximate calories from rations alone are, therefore:

If light workers	1,682 plus 512 -	2,194	calories daily
If employees	1,144 plus 512 -	1,656	" "
If dependents	704 plus 512 -	1,216	" "

In the last case it is almost possible to assume that the husband is well paid and will be able to buy products in the open market.

262 Even if the established ration scales for all groups could be met, they would not provide an adequate, balanced diet. Particularly the rations for women and children are very light in fat, first-class protein, and calcium. They provide less than half the low League of Nation's standard for daily full-cream milk requirements of the expectant mother. But even these inadequate scales are seldom supplied.

262 Since mid-October 1946, the honouring of ration cards has, because
434 of the increasing food shortages, become more and more irregular. In December 1946, for instance, large groups of persons in the Kiev area received only bread, sugar, and a few tins of vegetables on their cards. No meat, fish or fats were available. By the middle of January 1947, the situation had grown even more stringent, and only bread was supplied on the ration.

At the same time, the amount of food available off the ration has decreased almost to the vanishing point. Cereals and white bread have practically disappeared from the open market; and when they are available, the price is beyond the reach of the average person.

262 The effects of the poor diet are already to be seen. The people
181 generally show a noticeable lack of their former liveliness, energy and
164 cheerfulness. Moreover, according to the Medical Officer of the
369 UNRRA Mission to the Ukraine, clinical starvation has made its appearance in the smaller villages of the Republic: protein dropsy and avitaminosis are increasing; and among the townspeople there is great incidence of skin infections and respiratory and nasopharyngeal conditions.

645 In order to meet some of the medical aspects which may arise out of
744 the present food situation, the Ministry of Health has taken the follow-
262 ing steps.

7

THE BRIDGE BETWEEN WEST AND EAST

101 The political boundary between Slovakia and Carpathian Ruthenia is not a clear-cut dividing line between two different worlds. There are a number of Ruthenian peasants in the eastern parts of Slovakia who form a gradual transition between the two neighbours. True, the Slovaks and the Ruthenians are two different Slav races. The Slovaks are closely related to the Moravians and Czechs in the West; the Ruthenians belong to the Russian family—mainly to its Ukrainian branch—although the thousand years of isolation from their kinsmen have had a specific effect on the character of the Ruthenian population on the southern slopes of the Carpathians. But there is a gradual link between the Slovaks and the Ruthenians, and Carpathian Ruthenia may aptly be described as a bridge between the Western and Eastern Slavs.

131 175 Geographically, too, the two neighbouring countries are similar. A chain of wooded mountains separates them from the kindred Slav populations to the North and North-East; while to the South both countries have stretches of fertile plain which run down unobstructed into the vast Danubian basin. That is the reason why both countries fell victim to Hungarian expansion early in their history and remained under Hungarian rule as second-rate provinces for a thousand years. Until the end of 1918, neither Slovakia nor Carpathian Ruthenia were on the map.

177 212 Both these countries suffered from the long alien domination which hampered their development. Slovakia was the more fortunate of the two because, in spite of her political separation from the independent lands of the Czech Crown, cultural and religious contacts with them had been maintained for centuries. But the Ruthenians received less support of this kind from their kindred beyond the Carpathians. As a result, Ruthenia was still more at the mercy of her Hungarian overlords and remained in a state of greater backwardness than her neighbour in the West. This is well illustrated by the degree of illiteracy in Ruthenia under the Hungarian regime which was, indeed, appalling; according to the last Hungarian census about three quarters of the Ruthenian population could not read or write.

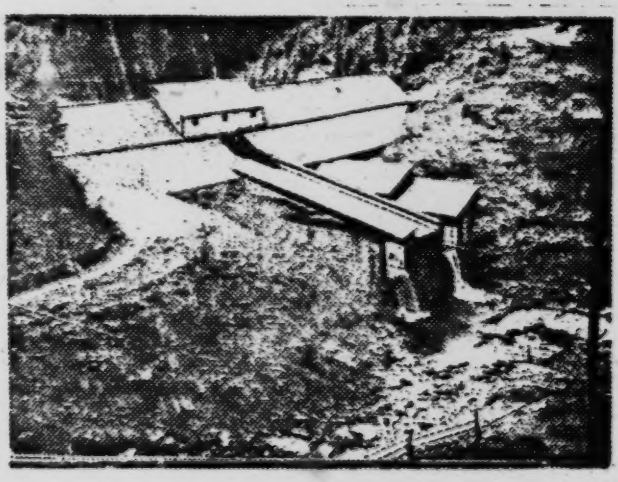
177 181 Only people of considerable racial individuality could have resisted systematic denationalisation as the Ruthenians did. They may be a simple people; but their mode of living, their outlook and their character have an unmistakable stamp of their own.

They are a mountain people who cling to the place where they

They are a mountain people who cling to the place where they
177 were born. This applies even to those who, through force of circum-
181 stances, had to leave their native village to earn their living elsewhere.
167 Some have found occupation in the fertile South; but when they have saved some money they want to return home and are prepared to pay a higher price for a few poor fields, although in the valleys of the South they could buy much better land for the same amount. Hundreds of thousands have emigrated to America, where about as many Ruthenians can be found as have remained in the homeland under the Carpathians. Yet many long to come back home to find their last resting place in the native soil.

137 The peculiar beauty of this forgotten country has a strong grip
313 on her simple sons. The Ruthenian Carpathians are not so high as the Slovak peaks, but the vast stretches of dense forest, which cover almost half of Ruthenia, give the country a more primeval appearance. Some of the woods and slopes are delightful idylls, where the fresh and fragrant air is full of hum and rustle and warble. But in many parts, unchartered and untouched by human hand, the forest is sombre. Trees felled by storm or gale lie dead where they have fallen, and there is a smell of rotting wood in this lonely wilderness. Wild boar, wolf, lynx and bear have their hunting ground here, while above the tops of the mighty pines, firs, oaks and maples, circle the eagle and the hawk. Other parts of the forest are enlivened by the rhythmical sound of the axe cutting down trees to be floated down the rushing mountain streams. A large proportion of the hardy Ruthenians earn their living in this way. But above this expanse of deep forest are the sunlit pastures and upland meadows sprinkled with gentian, buttercups, pansies, chrysanthemums and geraniums. Sheep and cattle graze here during the summer months; Ruthenia is also a country of shepherds, who blow their huge horns at night to gather the scattered herds.

312



Wooden dam in Ruthenia

101 among themselves. They can be divided into three well-defined tribes
162 —the Lemki on the Slovak border, the Boiki in the centre, and the Huculs in the eastern tip of Ruthenia.

The most interesting tribe are the Huculs. They have preserved
186 their tribal characteristics better than their kinsmen. Their standard of education is higher, and they are more conscious and proud of their national individuality. When the Hungarians invaded Ruthenia after the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, the Huculs offered the stiffest resistance, and during the war they were the core of the partisan force fighting against the totalitarian powers. Like the other Ruthenian
463 mountaineers, the Huculs are largely wood-cutters and raftsmen. But
342 they are distinguished by their skill as carpenters and wood-carvers. This is clearly reflected in their mode of life. Their wooden cottages are neatly built and furnished and impress the visitor by their scrupulous cleanliness. Their tribal individuality and artistic skill find expression in the numerous carvings with which they like to decorate their unpainted houses.

181 The neighbouring Boiki have also, to some extent, preserved their
511 pride in racial individuality, and their mode of life, though more primitive, has some interesting features. They are kind-hearted, sincere and hospitable, in spite of their poverty. Though less proud than the Huculs, they fly into a temper when crossed, and impulsive outspoken-
342 ness is one of their traits. They live in cottages and huts which they like to paint in blue and brown, and this makes their exterior rather attractive. But the interior does not always live up to the façade. The better-off Boiki manage to live in fairly decent cottages with two or more rooms, but the huts of the poor often consist of one room only—a dark room with no chimney, one small window, and some roughly
352 made furniture. Some have no bedsteads in the true sense of the word; along the whole wall of the room one may find a long "plank-bed" where the grown-ups sleep at the one end and the children at the other. When the children grow up they sleep on separate beds of the same kind. Unlike the Hucul houses, the Boiki huts have no wooden
342 floors. The domestic animals often share the same room with their
511 masters in winter, sleeping on the bare earth. For many families such a room is therefore a kitchen, living room, bedroom, hall and stable in one.

511 Much the same applies to the Lemki tribe who live partly on
181 Slovak territory. They are the poorest Ruthenian tribe and their racial character has undergone a certain deterioration. Their standard of life is often appalling, the hygiene leaves much to be desired, and they have the largest number of illiterates, though some improvement has taken place under the Republic.

000 Mountainous Ruthenia is a country of traditional costumes. The